

<Part ?PUNCTUALITY AND EFFICIENCY: The Development of New Work Managament>Time in an Early Modern Local Community

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Time in an Early Modern Local Community

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1 UNDERSTANDING TIME IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

When considering the concept of time in the premodern period, the following comments by Asao Naohiro¹ may be a useful starting point.

A seed drops to the ground, a young sprout appears and grows, produces many flowers and fruit and then drops to the ground and dies. People working on farms live in an ever-circulating natural rhythm, which seems as though it might last forever. This conception of time is essentially different from our modern, forward-moving, linear time. Similarly, societies which subsisted on hunting had their own particular understanding of time, as did fishermen who matched their own time to the cycles of the fish they subsisted on, that is, to the periods when those fish would reproduce and could not be fished without depleting the population. Once upon a time there were differing temporal schemes for each region, each set of natural conditions, each form of labor and style of life. Is it really acceptable to lump all these together under the unvarying divisions of modern time (the hours of the manufacturing economy of the capitalist system)?

Asao insisted that there was a completely different concept of time in the premodern period from the forward-moving, linear modern concept of time, and that it was a pluralistic concept that worked variously within each type of industry and society. This division into two kinds of time—a premodern and a modern one—has been widely accepted.

Criticizing Asao's formulation of things, Tsukada Takashi states that we should regard cyclical conceptions of time that contrast with modern notions of time as "historical concepts of time, although they are continuous."² Rather than being content to assign significance to premodern concepts of time solely on the grounds that they make modern ideas of time stand out in sharp relief, Tsukada maintains that we should bring to light the historicity of premodern views of time on their own particular terms. His opinion is worthy of our attention.

Tsukada goes on to insist that "we need to understand these two kinds of time using a uniform method, because it seems that Asao would think that accepting one would mean rejecting the other, as he thought they were inconsistent each other."³ Tsunoyama

Sakae pointed out that “a system of time using a time bell spread rapidly throughout the country around the middle of the seventeenth century.”⁴ The “time system” here refers to the time bells that began appearing in various parts of Japan. If this is indeed the case, then is it possible to say that a new consciousness of time had spread among the people of Japan? This point demands a closer look at the transitional period when the premodern and the modern periods overlapped, since this question, too, cannot be solved by simply creating categories for “premodern” and “modern” periods.

The goal of this paper is to shed light on time consciousness in early modern society (a fully realized form of premodern society) as a historical assumption for considering time consciousness among the Japanese. I do not intend to confine my research to a simple theory of modernization, only pointing out the historical fact that a sophisticated and complex understanding of time already existed in the modern period. As Asao and other theorists have shown, we need first to elucidate a structure of time consciousness in the early modern period in accordance with known facts. Only after having done that will we be able to provide instructive materials for explaining time consciousness in the modern and contemporary periods. However, the task of explicating the entirety of this question is beyond my ability. I therefore intend to limit the scope of this chapter to a discussion of the way time passed in a single community: the present city of Hagi, when it was a castle town belonging to the Hagi domain (han). Indeed, such a focus is itself meaningful at the current stage of research.⁵

As shown in Figure 1, Hagi han encompassed an area almost equal to the present Yamaguchi Prefecture, and the castle town of Hagi was surrounded by Toshima Saiban

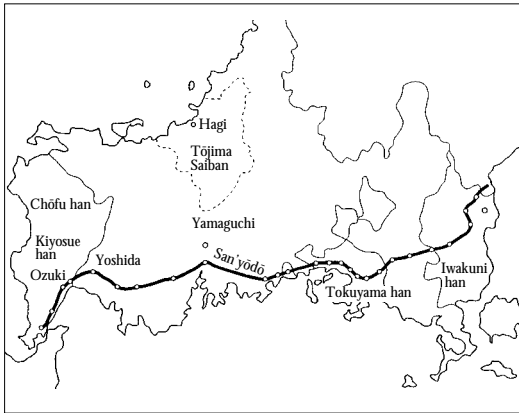


Figure 1

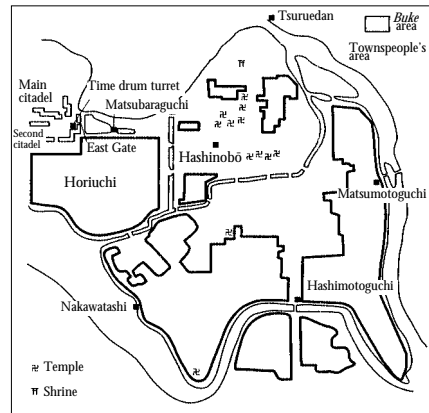


Figure 2

on the coast of the Sea of Japan. Figure 2 shows the town in detail, with Hagi castle at the foot of Mt. Shizuki in the northwest corner. Around it is a neighborhood with houses built for senior members in the han hierarchy. Commoner townspeople's districts, temples, and shrines are found in the eastern half separated from the castle by a moat, with houses for the middle class or lower ranking members of the domain built in the

delta area to the south. The commoner district had a population of over 10,000 people (or around 4,000 households), compared to the 1,000 households found in the area set aside for domain retainers. Records from the bakumatsu period (the end of the Edo era) indicate that the population of the entire town was in the vicinity of 30,000.⁶ The city history published by the municipality itself deals with many aspects of the following discussion, but I will proceed here without worrying about duplications.⁷

2 TIME INSIDE THE CASTLE

How was the device for announcing the time installed in the castle town of Hagi — the Hagi domain's most populous town? A document written when a time bell was installed at the beginning of the eighteenth century in Yamaguchi stated that, "Abu-gun in Chōshū (the present Yamaguchi Prefecture) has had a time bell and drum in Shizuki Castle since the days of yore."⁸ This proves that there were indeed a time bell and a drum in Hagi castle and in the town itself.

This so-called "time drum" was located in a "time turret" near the eastern gate of the citadel (see Figure 2). One document from 1745 states that the night watch in the main citadel failed to report the time at 7 o'clock, because, as an investigation later showed, a strong wind prevented him from hearing the time drum signaling 7 o'clock.⁹ It is evident that the castle had a time drum that functioned to announce the time, although at the same time it must have been of limited usefulness if a little wind prevented people from hearing it beyond the castle walls. A salary account book from the early seventeenth century indicates payment to three retainers as "time-keepers" (1629), showing that the installation of the time drum took place at the beginning of the early modern period.¹⁰

Besides the time drum, clocks were also installed in the castle. One example is the *kuramoto*, a facility in the north section of the castle located inside the moat outside the east gate of the second citadel. The *kuramoto* served as an administrative office fulfilling various bureaucratic functions, and it had a clock in a special "clock room" almost in the center of the building. Where did the han come by this clock? One clue may lie in the following instructions, sent to the local administration from the Edo office:¹¹

We need a large clock, so please tell your "clock man" to get hold of one for us. If you do not have the proper kind of iron, you can purchase some in Osaka or Nagasaki. It will probably be difficult to get the proper "bowl" (*wan*) and tone, so we will ask our Kyoto representative for this. He will probably get one with a span of 18 centimeters and deliver it to you as soon as it is ready.

As these instructions show, a method for producing clocks in the local district was already in place, and it was filling orders from the Edo office. This would indicate that the clock in the *kuramoto* building was most likely produced locally. The provenance of

certain parts in Osaka, however, implies that the production method was one that originated in Osaka and was then brought to Hagi.

Indeed, the domain had a clock craftsman in its employ named Ichiki, so the “clock man” in the document may be referring to him. A history of the Ichiki family is given in Table 1. As can be seen, the Ichiki family was hired at the end of the seventeenth century and produced “palanquin watches”—pocket watches used by feudal lords—and clocks installed in official buildings such as warehouses and archives. The fact that this family had managed a foundry in Chōfu before they were hired shows that they were the first clock craftsmen hired by Hagi han. The end of the seventeenth century saw the first local purchases of clocks, instead of importing them from Osaka and other cities as had been done before. This would indicate a growth in demand for clocks into more rural areas.

Table 1

Ichiki Nobunori, first generation	3 retainers hired from Chōfu in 1687 with an annual salary equivalent to 108 kg of rice, ordered to engage in clock making. Ordered to make a new large clock in 1693, with 576 kg of rice as a perquisite. Makes clocks for warehouses.
Ichiki Nobumasa, second generation	Makes a new clock. Makes two suits of armor and iron tools. Makes two clocks. Orders repairs to a palanquin watch for around 32 kg of silver as a bonus. Annual salary increased to 684 kg of rice and staff increased by in 1739 for achievements in duties at warehouses, archives, and other official tasks.
Ichiki Nobutatsu, third generation	Repairs a wall clock, originally an order from Edo, but performed locally because of difficulties in Edo. Repairs devices in a Chinese vessel. Orders repairs of several clocks.

Source: The Mōri Library, “Furoku,” i-194.

It is not clear exactly how these clocks served as time-keeping devices in the castle. As mentioned above, time inside the castle was announced by way of a time drum, which measured time not with a clock but with a stick of incense (described below). In all likelihood the watches carried by lords and clocks in the offices were closer to some sort of ornament.

Sometimes the time drum was used as a standard for time measurement within the domain. Stations set up along the main road were in charge of public transportation and as such had the job of delivering goods from one station to the next. Naturally, people had in mind a uniform time. The following text is quoted from the directions of the cen-

tral feudal administration in 1657 regarding the unification of time:¹²

There are many ways of dividing day from night and of using the “upper hours” and “lower hours,” depending on the location. The following method exists: sunrise is designated as “the lower hour of the rabbit,” and with this as a standard, the period until just before sunset, or “the lower hour of the monkey,” divides day from night. As for divisions during the night, sunset is set as “the upper hour of the rooster,” and the time just before sunrise is “the lower hour of the tiger.” It is inconvenient for the stations within the domain to be operated with different systems of time-telling, so we will use this one only.

According to these instructions, approximately one hour difference between the “upper and lower” time divisions needed to be fixed for transportation of goods requiring connections between stations. There arose a problem of how to decide on a way to measure time and which names to use day and night, based on sunrise and sunset. Various methods were used at each stage, and unification was required.

In fact, not so long after this we see an example of an attempt to unify the method of measuring time. There was a station town called Yoshida along the San'yōdō in the southwest region of the Hagi domain (see Figure 1). An office called the “Incense Section” was located there, and its origin was explained as follows:¹³

The next stage, Ozuki, is in the Kiyosue domain (part of the Hagi domain). Since there was a time bell in Ozuki but not in Yoshida, the time often differed between the two towns when delivering “Official Goods to the Central Government” as well as “Official Goods.” The chief priest at Yoshida Kyōkakuji Temple was therefore sent to Hagi in 1663 to learn the method of working with incense at the time-telling tower inside the castle. Although some feudal lords coming from Kyūshū through the San'yōdō carry their own watches, their watches cannot keep the correct time during their lengthy journey, and, therefore, the stations tell them the correct time.

According to this, a time bell had been installed arising from the necessity to synchronize time for transportation of official goods. The chief priest of the local temple was sent to Hagi to learn how to use the incense in the time-telling tower. A more interesting point was that the feudal lords who passed along the San'yōdō also set their clocks by referring to incense. Time measured by a clock, which should first and foremost be independent, nevertheless depended on the time measured by the incense, which in turn depended on physical processes and human intervention. This indicated a limitation on the role clocks played as time measuring devices in early modern society.

Although it is not possible to confirm whether something similar occurred at the other stations, the time measured by the time drum in Hagi castle ordered life inside the castle and served as the basis for a time measuring method that served as a standard for

the stations required to unify their various time systems. It goes without saying that the different times in different regions could not be made to match due to the dependence on a variable hour time system. However, by unifying the time divisions for “measuring time” and all the related terminology, time had to be made such that certain natural phenomena occurred at the same time no matter where they took place (e.g., sunrise and sunset). In this sense, a kind of “continuous time” began passing to some degree in the Hagi domain. It is said that the name of the the Ōuchi family¹⁴—the clan that ruled the area before the Mōri—was carved into the time drum in the castle, suggesting that time control constituted a part of the lord’s sovereignty.

3 TIME IN THE CASTLE TOWN

The above discussion dealt with connecting different locations such as Hagi castle and the post stations within the domain, so even a continuous time would be expected to be in some sense geographically disconnected. We cannot say for sure whether this kind of time measuring method was used in the towns around Hagi castle and in the villages around the stages.

As mentioned earlier, Hagi had both a time bell and a time drum. There was another device for telling the time—besides the time drum—in the castle: the Shōrōdō (bell tower) of Hashinobō, a temple belonging to the Jōdo Shinshū sect standing at the center of the business district (Figure 2). When Lord Mōri Yoshinari, heir to the Hagi domain, first entered his domain, installation of a time bell was discussed, and it was subsequently built in 1686 with permission from the Magistrate of Temples and Shrines of the Shogunate.¹⁵ It was built not under the initiative of citizens living in the town but by the feudal administration as a part of the arrangements to welcome the new lord, and again, this suggests that controlling time constituted a part of the lord’s sovereignty.

However, time measured and the time told by the time drum were not synchronized. This created a problem in 1718, and Matsumoto Ihei was consulted about correcting the time drum. A summary of his answer is as follows :¹⁶

- (1) The time-telling staff said, “usually a double sized stick of incense is burnt from *asa mutsu* (sunrise) to *itsutsu* (approximately 8 a.m.) and from *ban nanatsu* (approximately 4 p.m.) to the sunset.” “Determination of the Time of Sunset” is explained in “Principles of Calendar-Making” (*Rekihō* 暦法). This is because it starts to get light sometime before sunrise and it gets dark only sometime after sunset. Therefore, the hours around *mutsu* (6 o’clock) in the morning and in the evening become longer, extending daytime by about 25%. But I do not understand why a double-sized stick of incense is burnt for the time drum. Is it better to leave it or to change it according to “Principles of Calendar-Making”?

- (2) In connection with the above, a stick of incense that is 20% or 30% shorter is burnt around 10 a.m. and 2 p.m. Is it better to leave it or to change it according to “Principles of Calendar-Making”?
- (3) The original sized stick of incense is burnt at *hiru kokonotsu* (around noon), and the incense is burnt equally around *mutsudoki* in the evening. Is it better to change this according to “Principles of Calendar-Making”?

In reply, the domain's instructions were to follow the “Principles of Calendar-Making” in all cases. The time-telling crew renounced the custom they had long followed and showed their intention to place more importance on an external authority. Although today it is not exactly certain whether this constitutes the first instance or not, Matsumoto Ihei, summoned to provide advice, was originally a mathematician, called a “counting craftsman,” working for the budget section of the feudal administration, and belonged to the lowest class of samurai retainers, with no land grant. Despite his class, he was directed to go to Edo and study astronomy in 1701, where he was trained by Shibukawa Shunkai.¹⁷ The “Principles of Calendar-Making” he mentioned was undoubtedly none other than the one “passed on by Shibukawa.” This means that it was in the early eighteenth century that a time-measuring method began following a reference work on how to construct a calendar. A time-measuring method based on the shogunate's official method replaced the one Hagi han had developed independently.

One direct reason for introducing bakufu calendar-making methodology was the difference between the time told by the drum in the castle town and the actual time. If this was the case, can we really conclude that different “passages of time” inside and outside the castle in the past were tackled consciously?

Let's take a different approach and look at this argument from the point of view of the time of day officers would arrive at their offices inside the castle. As mentioned earlier, many administrative offices of the Hagi domain were located in the *kuramoto* within the boundary of the moat outside the east gate of the second citadel. Since signals from the time drum placed at this east gate could be heard at the main citadel, normal activities at the *kuramoto* (located next to the east gate) must have been ordered by the signals from the time drum. On the other hand, since officers who were in the samurai class arrived from their homes in the castle town, they might have learned the time from the time bell at Hashinobō when they were at home.

The *kuramoto* was moved from inside the second citadel to the place shown in Figure 2 in 1668. One of the regulations announced at the time of this transfer stated:¹⁸

1. Officers of the *kuramoto* who are not on the night shift must arrive at their offices between *asa mutsu* (approximately 6 a.m.) and *itsutsu* (approximately 8 a.m.) and begin work as established in previous regulations.

Supplementary Provision

Personnel must stay at their posts until 4 p.m. Furthermore, they must not finish

their work before confirmation by an officer from the attendance recording section who patrols the offices and checks individual attendance. Once work has started, personnel must not engage in idle chatter or walk around needlessly.

2. The same (working hours as officers) applies to craftsmen.

Supplementary Provision

Wage craftsmen at factories must work from *asa mutsu* to *ban no mutsu* (approximately 6 p.m.) The same working hours apply to the officers supervising them.

This shows that regulations set working hours saying, “Officers of the *kuramoto* ... must arrive at their offices between *asa mutsu* and *itsutsu*. ... They must stay at their posts until *ban nanatsu*.” Apart from the time they leave the office, the starting time specified in the regulations was quite generous, almost going so far as to say, “Personnel may arrive at the office within two hours after sunrise.” For craftsmen it was the same, since working hours from *asa mutsu* to *ban mutsu* meant that they basically had to work from sunrise to sunset, so the regulations might not necessarily require time signals at all.

This is demonstrated in the following. Officers were provided a meal, called *banshoku* (“on-duty meal”), in their office¹⁹ at *asa itsutsu*. They had to take this meal in the kitchen and could not take it back to the offices, with certain exceptions. There was a kitchen in the middle of the *kuramoto*, and a dining room was set up inside the kitchen. Another on-duty meal was served at *ban nanatsu*. The time for work to start was actually regulated by this meal. These circumstances probably led to only rare instances of conscientious compliance with time.

However, time regulations for officers arriving at the *kuramoto* became stricter over time. For example, regulations for 1713 said that no breakfast would be served if officers did not arrive ahead of time in order to stamp their seal showing that they had come to work. Even if they had finished their duties for the day, no stamp could be affixed before *nanatsu*.²⁰ In other words, stamps were used to clock in and clock out. Officers most likely went to the attendance recording section of the *kuramoto* to do this when arriving and when leaving, which meant that the system changed from one promoting compliance with working hours using the enticement of free meals to one forcing staff to obey working hours on their own.

At the same time, this change meant that traditionally generous time regulations stating that officers should arrive before meals served between *asa mutsu* and *itsutsu* were modified to specify time in greater detail. For example, regulations in 1729 prescribed an arrival time of *asa itsutsu*, saying, “the correct way to arrive is to have a stamp affixed before *asa itsutsu*”; however, arrival before *asa yotsu* was also allowed if officers had breakfast at home.²¹ The revised regulations for 1750 prescribed an arrival time of *asa itsutsu* for officers having breakfast at home and a different arrival time of *asa yotsu* for those living far away, beyond the river.²² Clearly, the role of the meal as the base time for their arrival became less and less important until a detailed time schedule finally became the main regulator of the personnel's day.

Let us take a broad look at craftsmen's working hours. Among the craftsmen hired by the domain, some were hired on a permanent basis with a salary, while others were hired occasionally from the town.²³ Official wages were paid to the latter—they are probably the “wage craftsmen” referred to in the quotation above. However, a different set of regulations appeared during the latter part of the Edo period. For example, the following regulations were established for hiring ordinary carpenters :²⁴

- (1) Each senior carpenter works five hours a day, and the wage is fixed at 18 kg of rice and 184 mon. Working hours and wages for middle-level carpenters or below will be set based on those for senior carpenters.
- (2) Employers must not pay any amount higher than that written on the cards issued individually.
- (3) Any carpenter working overtime until midnight or working a short time is paid hourly wages calculated from the amount written on his card plus 10% for each hour.

These regulations applied not only in cases when the domain hired carpenters but also in cases when they were hired privately, and as shown in (2), it firstly aimed to restrict an increase in wages by hiring those who held cards that were issued individually and stating the wage. Although a similar policy was adopted in 1729, only wages were regulated at that time, and there were no stipulations regarding working hours as in (1) and (3).²⁵ Hence, after the mid-eighteenth century the employment system changed from one that counted labor in units of entire days to one that measured work by hours and paid a wage based on this figure. Furthermore, as five hours of work was set in (1) for carpenters, the number of hours worked in a day decreased compared to regulations in the seventeenth century that set working hours from sunrise to sunset. Also, wages by the hour (plus overtime payment) are shown in (3).

In the eighteenth century, working hours for officers and craftsmen could be prescribed in more detail using time notation. It was uncertain to what degree they understood it²⁶, although it is at least certain that they could no longer live without the time drum or the time bell. Indeed, the problem is determining what factors created this situation. And while one simple answer might be the spread of the commodity economy, it is nevertheless impossible to explain in detail using concrete examples. The fact of the matter is that a system of time that used single hour units for measuring time slowly began to spread among the residents of the castle town, which led to the demand for the unification of time there.

4 TIME IN THE CASTLE TOWN AND SURROUNDING RURAL AREAS

On the other hand, another kind of time was passing in rural areas around the town.

Table 2. Temples Having a Shōrō or a Bell in Tōjima Saiban (around 1840)

Village Name	Distance from Hagi	Shōrō	Bell Only	Year Inscribed
Tsubaki-higashi	About 1.7 km	3	0	
Tsubaki-nishi	About 2.2 km	2	4	1656, 1686
Fukui-shimo	About 10 km	0	0	
Fukui-kami	About 12 km	1	0	
Shifuku	About 10 km	0	0	
Oikurokawa	About 4-8 km	0	2	1663, 1675
Yamada	About 4-12 km	1	1	1680, 1765
Sanmi	About 8 km	3	0	
Kawakami	About 8-20 km	0	5	1651, 1803
Akiragi	About 8-16 km	0	1	
Sasanami	About 16-24 km	2	0	

Source: *Bōchō fūdo chūshin'an 20 Tōjima saiban*.

Note: Kawashima-shō is excluded because it is included in Hagi town.

Table 2 is based on a topography made around 1840. Villages in Tōjima Saiban around Hagi that have temples with a bell tower (*shōrō*) or a bell are listed. Since records are different in each village, “0” does not necessarily mean that there was not a *shōrō* or bell in the village. Bearing that in mind, there may be one or more *shōrō* or bells in each village because many were several kilometers away from Hagi. Some villages recorded inscriptions on the bells. Using this to look at the year the bell was made, six out of eight have an inscription indicating they were made in the seventeenth century. If these bells were used to tell time in their villages, this possibly started sometime in the late seventeenth century.²⁷ Bells were announcing the time everyday in villages during the same period when the time bell was installed in Hagi. Therefore, in the period when the time told by the *shōrō* or the time drum in Hagi became a part of people's life there, a completely different time was being told in rural villages.

A significant change happened in the second month of 1842, when Hagi han submitted the following request to the shogunal government (the Magistrate of Temples and Shrines)²⁸:

When a foreign ship appears, the retainers living in the castle town begin their guard as soon as they hear two consecutive rings of a bell. Those living in the mountains 16 km to 20 km away have been directed to come quickly to the town as soon as they hear the signal relayed by the bells in the villages after the original signal is initi-

ated at Hashinobō Temple. However, because they come from a place over 10 km away and there are mountains and valleys along the way, they may be late for an emergency if they do not hear the signal directly. Therefore, construction of a new *shōrō* is highly desired.

It was a time of increased external pressure due to the start of the Opium War. Preparations for military exercises called the Hagadai Extensive Maneuvers, started within the domain. The exercises were conducted in the third month.²⁹ Under increased foreign pressure, the domain requested an increase in the number of time bells in the town to ensure smooth military mobilization.

Table 3. Retainers Living in Tōjima Saiban

Village Name	Number of Retainers	Village Name	Number of Retainers
Tsubaki-Higashi	-	Yamada	36
Tsubaki-nishi	5	Sanmi	22
Fukui-shimo	16	Kawakami	16
Fukui-kami	1	Akiragi	12
Shifuku	8	Sasanami	14
Ōikurokawa	9		

Source: *Bōchō fūdo chūshin'an 20 Tōjima saiban*.

Note: Includes retainers in residence, but excludes *ashigaru* (foot soldiers) or *baishin* (rear vassals) and those of lower status. Kawashima-shō also excluded.

First, let us look at the request, which stated that many retainers were living in the rural areas rather than the town. Table 3 shows the number of retainers living in villages of Tōjima Saiban quoted from the same topography mentioned above. Although there were foot soldiers and others following the soldiers in addition to those in the table above, they were not included. Rear vassals were also excluded. This table actually shows that there were ten to twenty retainer houses in many villages.

Those retainers living in villages as residents also had to rush to the castle in the event of an emergency. It was said that a temple in each village relayed the signal in two consecutive rings. However, gathering retainers from places 10 or 20 km away in the town created problems with readiness. Therefore, the domain tried to install new time bells in the town, and at first planned to put them in several temples. In accordance with this plan, the selected temples submitted the following request. It was made by Onseiji Temple in the third month of 1842.³⁰

Seven new time bells shall be installed in Hagi, and one of them has been set aside for us. We agree to relay signals from the time bell at Hashinobō Temple day and night. For fires we will ring the bell if we detect a fire in any area including ours. In exchange for these services, we shall receive 3,240 kg of rice granted annually as a

time bell handling fee. We would also like to request your consideration of the following:

1. There is no bell for relaying signals at our temple. Please provide one.
2. Please also provide one clock. Incense cannot keep the correct time depending on the weather.
3. Do we have to ring the bell for fires outside the town across the river?

This request shows that the time bell installed in this temple had to relay a signal from Hashinobō Temple as soon as it was heard. Since seven bells were to be rung all at once upon a signal from Hashinobō Temple, the sound would be certainly have been tremendous. This indicates the lengths gone to in order to relay a signal as far as possible. However, the clock request was rejected, as it was not needed to relay the signals from Hashinobō Temple.

New time bells were installed in five places: Matsubaraguchi Gate, the Hashimoto Guard Station, Matsumotoguchi, Nakawatashi, and Tsuruedan, which were either on the road or at the ferry dock at the edge of town (Figure 2). The notice issued in the twelfth month announcing the new time bells in the Hagi Domain stated that these bells were to be used not only for emergency signals but also as a time signal: “Seven *shōrō* buildings shall be constructed in the following locations, and they shall ring bells in two consecutive beats to inform retainers of the approach of foreign ships.”³¹ The phrase “relay signals from the time bell of Hashinobō Temple day and night” in the request from Onseiji Temple in the third month proves that night from the start, the function of the time bell was to announce time. This being the case, the people living in the villages around Hagi, who had traditionally told the time according to the bell from a temple nearby, would now start telling time according to a time bell in the castle town. Although the connection with local time bells under such circumstances is uncertain, all time-telling devices might have been set according to the same time in Hagi.

Thus, as part of a strengthened defense against foreign pressure in the mid-nineteenth century, time in Hagi and in the surrounding rural areas was synchronized to the time bells in the castle town. This was the biggest change since the installation of a time bell in the late seventeenth century. However, even then, in the last days of the Edo period, a homogeneous time was only shared by the castle town and the immediately surrounding rural areas, and it is not certain to what degree such time bound people’s consciousness and behavior. In this sense, the change may be smaller in magnitude compared to the modern period that was to come later, in which a fixed time method spread to other rural areas. People in the modern period began to understand time based on the tremendous progress made in early modern society.

NOTES

- ¹ Asao Naohiro 朝尾直弘, "Jidai kubunron," in *Nihon tsūshi, bekkā 1, Rekishi ishiki no genzai* (Iwanami Shoten, 1995)
- ² Tsukada Takashi 塚田孝, "Rekishigaku no hōhō o meguru dansō: Amerika de no keiken ni furete," *Ichidai Nihonshi 2* (1999), reprinted in *Mibunron kara rekishigaku o kangaeru* (Azekura Shobō, 2000).
- ³ Ibid.
- ⁴ Tsunoyama Sakae 角山栄, *Tokei no shakaishi* (Chuō Kōron Sha, 1984).
- ⁵ Research has been made about time bells in the Edo period as time telling devices. Care should be paid to the difference between Urai Shōko's 浦井祥子 argument emphasizing the shogunal government's control (Urai Shōko, "Edo-fu nai no 'toki no kane': seiritsu oyobi kanri, un'ei," *Shikyo* 36, 1994, and "Edo no toki no kane ni miru bakufu no ken'i o megutte," *Shikyo* 40, 1999) and Takishima Isao's 滝島功 argument saying, ". . . having certain publicity, and existed as one of the urban 'facilities' systematically managed by social agreement. . . ." (Takishima Isao, "Toki no kane: Meiji ishinki no shikaku kara," *Kantō kinseishi kenkyū* 41 (1999). It is necessary to explain that time control constituted a part of sovereignty by integrating one aspect and, therefore, was placed under the control of the shogunate. It must also be explained that that time control penetrated into the community as it controlled the daily life of residents.
- ⁶ *Nihon rekishi chimei taikēi 36, Yamaguchi-ken*, (Heibonsha, 1980).
- ⁷ Hagi-shishi Hensan Iinkai 萩市史編纂委員会, *Hagi-shishi*, vol. 1 (Hagi-shi, 1983).
- ⁸ Yamaguchi-ken Bunshokan Abe-ke monjo, 79, "Kojishshoshū, Yamaguchi jishō monogatari."
- ⁹ Mōri-ke Bunko, "Shōbatsu," 73, "Onko benran."
- ¹⁰ Mōri-ke Bunko, "Kyūroku," 17, "Bungenchō."
- ¹¹ Mōri-ke Bunko, "Jō hikae," 2 (22), "Goyō jō hikae." *Wan* is written in kana, and is in quotation marks, in the Japanese text.
- ¹² Mōri-ke Bunko, "Kyūki" 55, "Dai kiroku," 23.
- ¹³ Mōri-ke Bunko, "Hōrei" 159, "Onkakitsuke sono hoka kōkiyōshū" 9.
- ¹⁴ Yamaguchi-ken Bunshokan Kazo Ippan Kyōdo Shiryō 120, "Hagi kojitsuki."
- ¹⁵ Mōri-ke Bunko, "Shōshō hikae" 4, "Shoji shōshō hikae." Although a time bell was installed at Hashinobō Temple in Yamaguchi in the seventh month of 1712, this was prepared for a return of the lord in the fifth month similar to Hagi (Abe-ke Bunsho, "Kojishshoshū, Yamaguchi jishō monogatari").
- ¹⁶ Mōri-ke Bunko, "Shōshō hikae" 35, "Shoji shōshō hikae."
- ¹⁷ Mōri-ke Bunko, "Furoku," ma-78.
- ¹⁸ "Daikiroku" 22.
- ¹⁹ In addition, it was a very basic principle in the early modern organization that the mobilizing side provided meals (Takagi Shōsaku 高木昭作, *Nihon kinsei kokka shi no kenkyū*, [Iwanami Shoten, 1990]), and, in this sense, it could be confirmed that the function a retainer served at the office was part of his duty as a samurai.
- ²⁰ Mōri-ke Bunko, "Hōrei" 160, "Onkakitsuke hikae" 1.

- ²¹ “Onkakitsuke hikae” 4.
- ²² Mōri-ke Bunko, “Hōrei” 60, “Onkakitsuke utsushi.”
- ²³ Morishita Toru 森下徹, “Han kenryoku to shokunin soshiki,” *Rekishigaku kenkyū*, no. 677, 1995.
- ²⁴ Mōri-ke Bunko, “Shoshō” 9, “Furegaki nuki” 3.
- ²⁵ Ibid.
- ²⁶ It was unlikely that punctuality was inherent in officers. This statement is justified by the fact that the following kind of regulations demanding punctuality were made repeatedly:
- a. Negligence can be seen in some officers in offices with large numbers of personnel. When the staff from the office manager down to the lower officers arrives late, the office falls into “negligence” and delays arise in the fulfilling of “official duties.” A particular problem is in officers arriving at the office late, where daily “official duties” must be fulfilled (“Onkakitsuke utsushi,” 1750)
 - b. Many officers have been observed not reporting their arrival because they were not carrying their seal with them, despite the rule to report upon arrival at the office. Officers should carry their seal with them, and they should at least report their arrival even if they are not carrying it (“Onkakitsuke hikae” 14, 1768)
 - c. Many officers working in the *kuramoto* arrive at the office late or leave early. Furthermore, quite a few officers have breakfast in the office (“Onkakitsuke hikae” 17, 1779)
 - d. When officers leave the office for illness or some sort of mishap, they often leave for home without submitting a report. A report is required in all cases. However this rule is disregarded due to disobedience on the part of too many officers. (“Onkakitsuke hikae” 26, 1801)
- ²⁷ Through his research into the production dates of 1,400 examples with Sanskrit inscriptions in the Koto Area of Omi, Yokota Fuyuhiko 横田冬彦 has demonstrated that “the number of time bells increased towards the Genroku period, reaching a peak in the Genroku and Kyōhō periods.” He saw “formation and maturity in early modern villages” behind the trend. (Yokota Fuyuhiko, “Tsuji-mura imonoshi,” in Tsukada Takashi, ed., *Siriizu kinsei no mibunteki shūroku*, 3, *shokunin, oyakata, nakama* [Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2000].)
- ²⁸ Mōri-ke Bunko, “Shoshō,” 191, “Hagi-jō gokasho no shōrō oukagai ikken.”
- ²⁹ See note 7.
- ³⁰ “Onkakitsuke hikae,” 39.
- ³¹ Yamaguchi-ken Bunshokan Ryōkōden Shiryō, “Chūseikōden” 108.